DECLASSIFIED

ADVANCE TEXT: FOR RELEASE AT 9 P.M., G.M.T. TUESDAY
OCTOBER 31, 1961

ADDRESS BY UNITED STATES AMBASSADOR DAVID K.E. BRUCE

BEFORE THE ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE

WOMEN'S VOLUNTARY SERVICE

Brighton, October 31, 1961

I am particularly happy to be your guest tonight, for two principal reasons, one personal, and the other more objective. The first is that, for many years, my affection and admiration for your Chairman has been profound, and I have felt honoured by her friendship. The second is that the success of your organisation in demonstrating the wonderful possibilities of voluntary social services has been of immense benefit not only to your country, but to my own.

During the war, the WVS was [redacted] one most important and effective instrument for the distribution of private American assistance to the British people. That it remains, today, strong in membership and morale is indicative of the soundness of its policies and the wisdom of its leadership.

Its influence on many voluntary associations in the United States has been a continuing one, and I believe will be more important than ever when an increasing interest on the part of our citizens in the problems of Civil Defence leads them to an intensive study of the methods pioneered and developed here by the WVS.

Moreover, the exchanges established between your members and women with kindred interests in the United States are often more useful in fostering Anglo-American friendship than are the activities of institutions established for that sole purpose.

I should like to comment briefly on this subject of Anglo-American relations.

If one were to judge their state of health by journalistic comments on either side of the Atlantic, one would yield to gloomy forebodings. Actually, such articles generally deal with what is described as sharp conflicts of policy in international affairs.

Such conflicts, according to the Press, chiefly relate to Berlin and Germany, colonialism, South-East Asia, and China. I shall not attempt to discuss these topics in detail, but cover them by a generality: With the single exception of China, where the reasons for our differing views are thoroughly understood by our respective Governments, the rest of our foreign preoccupations find us in unison as to how to treat with them in principle. One does not expect, nor would it be desirable, to have two partners so lacking in imagination and conviction as to maintain identical postures in every crisis. Such disagreements as have from time to time arisen between us were over tactical rather than strategical decisions.

DECLASSIFIED

What are those strategical decisions that presently engage our attention?

Suspended over mankind is the most awful of threats: annihilation by nuclear weapons. Yet so optimistic is the human spirit that the daily pattern of our lives is little affected by fear of sudden extinction by this terrifying force. Some seek to avoid the implications of its use by deriding the possibility of its being employed against them; others would ward off its dangers by submission to the demands of its possessors. All recognise that perils such as never before existed are presented by these lethal military devices.

Your own organisation is engaged in planning and exercises designed to mitigate the worst consequences of nuclear attack. The survival of millions of people may depend, if such an attack occurs, upon your efforts, training, and example.

It might be interesting to review the circumstances which have led to the situation in which we now find ourselves.

During the War, the Germans had conducted many experiments in the hope of discovering the secrets of nuclear fission. In my own country, similar exploration was taking place; the two bombs dropped on Japan, in 1945, were the product of such endeavours. So devastating and frightful were the consequences of these explosions that my Government offered, when it had an unchallenged monopoly in this scientific field, to internationalise the atom. As you know, the Soviet Union refused that proposal, and proceeded to develop its own atomic capability.

Today, there are enough destructive instruments at man's command to destroy himself, as well as all vegetable and animal life on our planet. There could be no victory for any nation in this new type of war. Suffering and death might be universal, not restricted. Unilateral renunciation of the manufacture or use of such weapons is senseless, for their very existence, in any hands, constitutes a menace.

It is for such reasons that the United Kingdom and the United States struggled so long at Geneva to bring an end to nuclear tests, and, for three years, suspended their own.

While we were still engaged in negotiations with the Soviet Union, and hopeful of a satisfactory outcome, that country had long before made its preparations to resume the pollution of the atmosphere. The unanimous wish of all other nations for this first significant step toward disarmament was cynically and brutally frustrated by one power. Everywhere, a fresh rain of radioactive fall-out has now been precipitated upon the earth and its inhabitants.

Is there no limit to the wickedness and folly of man? Having discovered what had better been undiscovered, is he incapable of securing himself against the deadly impact of his own inventions? Thus far, the collective conscience, and will to survive, of all peoples, have been thwarted by the Soviet Union.

Once more, on September 25, 1961, President Kennedy, addressing the United Nations, offered a programme for general and complete disarmament under effective international control. It is calculated to achieve a progressive reduction in nuclear and conventional forces until all armies and weapons, except those required for the maintenance of internal order and a United Nations Peace Force, have been abolished.

If the members of the United Nations are serious in desiring peace with proper safeguards, if they are not so craven as some of them have lately appeared when confronted with naked bluster and treated with undisguised contempt, perhaps they will mobilise their efforts, before it is too late, in support of the last remaining hope for escape from permanent terror.

We all desire a peaceful world but not peace at any price, nor any kind of peace, such as that of the dead. The only wars we should care to make are those against misery, disease and fear. No longer should one great nation be allowed to terrorise the world, through military influence, or by subversive control of weaker governments.

We have entered, large and small alike, into a global association formed for man's benefit and prosperity, intended to serve as a guarantor of his liberties. If its purposes are not realised, it will be because there is no real cohesion in favour of law and justice. The newly independent nations have an opportunity to display political maturity in votes on cases where national self-interests and temporary advantages should be subordinated to the general good. If they fail to do so, despondency will sap the foundations of the United Nations, and the weak will not inherit the earth.

In many places, discord reigns. Laos, striving to be neutral, is undermined by the aggressive thrust of foreign-inspired Communism. Vietnam is preyed upon by guerrillas and assassins from the North, intent on imposing their unwanted authority upon a thriving neighbour. The Peking-directed Chinese , in the throes of disillusion, utter ever madder and shriller denunciations of those who choose freedom rather than serfdom. In Western Europe, an oasis of civilisation, as contrasted with much of Asia and Africa, one danger point -- Berlin -- is incessantly sharpened by the Soviet knife.

The Western Allies, during the last war, displayed a credulity in regard to post-war settlements that would seem ludicrous had not its consequences been so tragic. Blindly trusting that a war-time community of interests would be continued in peacetime, they bartered away an impregnable position in East Germany for a special status for the city of Berlin.

The ink was scarcely dry upon these unfortunate agreements when the intentions of the Soviet Union became manifest. They wished to divide Germany, and to absorb Berlin into their satellite portion of it. To a large extent they have succeeded, for sixteen million East Germans, and over a million East Berliners, are their unwilling slaves. The difficulty of driving the Americans, British and French out of West Berlin has, however, deceived their expectations. Determined to resist encroachments upon West Berlin, the Western nations are united, even at the risk of nuclear war, in its defence. If the Soviets should prove reasonable in negotiations, peace can be preserved. Otherwise, the future is dark indeed.

What is it that goads the Government of the Russian peoples to such audacious and disturbing adventures? With a huge area of its own still largely undeveloped, rich in almost every natural resource, peopled by a patriotic and industrious folk, the madness of imperialistic expansion, aggravated by a doctrinaire ruthlessness, inspires a policy inimical to human happiness and security.

The erstwhile allies of Hitler in the carving up of Poland are now the champions of self-determination, except where it might be applied to their subjugated vassals. No consistency marks their declarations, and faithfulness to solemn pledges has been more honoured in the breach than in the observance. The secrecy of their own society renders them abnormally suspicious of the intent of strangers. Co-existence is a word ready to their utterance, but, in their interpretation, means submission to their own ukase.

But we should not despair of reaching some accommodation with them. For if we could substitute realism for credulity, we have the power in the West to treat on more than equal terms with this Eastern giant. It is not by giving way that we shall placate him. Except as a last resort, it is not by marshalling our combined and greater strength that we should overwhelm him to the world's disadvantage. Rather, if we would be more settled in our purposes, more priceful of our precious civilisation, the accomplishments of our past, the assets of our present, the potential of our future, we would perhaps be able to achieve a modus vivendi that, as time unfolds its mysteries, might bring about an honourable arrangement ~~relaxation of tensions~~.

If this can be done, the United States and the United Kingdom must be united as never before in the formulation and implementation of common policies. Together we constitute a formidable bloc; when our Western Allies, members of the Commonwealth, and other nations animated by like principles are added to this combination, our joint strength would be irresistible as long as our purpose holds.

Faced with unyielding hostility, our every move denigrated, our most decent impulses mocked and travestied, let us turn our gaze inward, and ask of what should we be ashamed.

Future historians may well decide that despite the great contributions of Greek, Roman, Chinese, and other cultures to humanity, the Western nations have, over the centuries, made the most significant and beneficial gifts to civilisation. They have preserved and adapted the teachings of the ancient world for the instruction and edification of the modern. With incredible vitality and enterprise, they have girdled the earth with new systems of transportation and communication. Many of their scientific and industrial achievements are so startling as to seem unreal. Regard for the dignity of the individual, a wide though still inadequate diffusion of prosperity, amongst all classes of their peoples, a constant increase in facilities for education, health and happiness, a respect for law, order, and the arts, a solicitude for the less fortunate everywhere, and other accomplishments too lengthy to enumerate, have characterised their unceasing march toward the goal of a better world for all.

The rise of nationalism, with its concomitant demand for independence, has, within a few years, doubled the number of sovereign nations. Less than two per cent of the world's population remains under alien rule, if one excepts satellite relationships.

These newly emancipated states have no reason to fear the West, which has no ambition to corrupt their liberties, or to control their governments. The greatest imperialistic power the world has ever known is otherwise inclined, and wishes to coerce where it cannot convince. It announces its belief in the ultimate decline, fall, and subservience to its doctrines, of the West. Meanwhile, it uses every weapon of propaganda and intimidation to undermine the independence of all states not already under its thrall.

What are the objectives of Western foreign policy? They are peace, the dignity of the human individual, opposition to oppression in all its forms.

The Soviet Union, quite frankly bent on world conquest, has avowed its intention to oppose, if necessary by force, any decision made by the world body of the U.N. ~~or a constituent country~~, which its leaders decide to be antagonistic to its national self-interest. It desires, and explicitly avows its desire, to subvert the U.N. to its own designs. It is open in its belief that the majority of sovereign nations can be so affrighted by its threats as to bow to its will.

I do not think this is a forum in which I should further air the fundamental opposition between the West and the Soviet Union and its partners, though that confrontation represents the crucial problems of our times. Upon its conclusion depends the conditions upon which all of us will live in the future.

The manner in which your country and mine faces these issues and try to dispose of them, will probably be definitive. Great Britain and the United States are united by bonds far stronger than attach any other two nations on earth. We have our differences in policy, as do all countries. We have affiliations of long standing that cannot be destroyed by momentary prejudices, or inspired national or individual prejudices. I do not believe friendship is dependent entirely on ethnical origins, a common speech or culture or the other reasons so often advanced in favour of the strength of the Anglo-American alliance. These play their part. But if anything cries aloud for recognition, it is the community of the Anglo-American self-interest. We ask nothing of others, though we have and do give much to others.

For centuries the Western World has been disunited. Instead of combining its energies to confront its common enemies, ad to offer its members ~~arned~~ their military talents against each other. No chapters in history are more appalling than those recording internecine warfare between parties to our community. We destroyed one another with a ferocity and efficiency unknown to people less proficient and less well-equipped with devastating weapons.

It is extraordinary, but true, that only in our lifetimes has there been any constructive achievement in unifying the Western world. We have had alliances, especially in wartime, but temporary in nature. Across the Channel, an experiment in political philosophy has been quietly evolving. It is unique, as far as my knowledge goes, in its promise for ~~later achievement~~ subsequent growth in the light of its extraordinary present success.

It would be improper for me, as a foreigner, to comment on the future of the European movement in connection with the recent application of the United Kingdom to adhere to the Rome Treaty. However, I think I might remark, as a personal observation, that some later combination, founded upon preliminary step-by-step advances, of all the nations of the West, is probably the only way to make effective the amazing, and yet not fully exploited potentialities of a civilisation that thus far has been unique in its accomplishments remarkable for.

Probably I shall not myself ~~probably~~ live to see the day when unity between your country and mine, between ourselves and the rest of the free world combine to create a rule of order founded on decency, but I, like you, will always consider the imperfection of man manifest until that comes to pass.

On fundemental issues, though we may differ on details, your government and mine see as one. As has long been true, we, with our close associates, are resolved to cherish our internal truths, and the freedom of our imperfect, but aspiring lives. We have the resources, but, more importantly, the unconquerable will to do so.

- - - - -

A-17243-AC
BK

DECLASSIFIED

E and I left by train this afternoon for Brighton. At 7:00 o'clock we went to dine with Stella Reading and her 300 WVS chieftains. They all wore their uniforms. Afterwards, we adjourned to the ballroom of the Grand Hotel, and I made a speech. These women are a wonderful lot, and represent WVS activities in all portions of the UK, as well as abroad. It is the most extraordinary woman's voluntary organization in the world.

November 1, 1961 - Wednesday

We started off the morning by observing, at Stella's request, the new WVS rolling kitchen. This contraption enables them to cook meals under emergency conditions in any part of the country. Then we went to the Brighton Pavilion, and found it fascinating. The Director, whom we had met some months ago, Clifford Musgrave, recognized us, and we were thereby enabled to see all the rooms. It really represents the most extraordinary fantasy on the part of George IV. The kitchen is especially memorable.

We lunched on the train, and I went directly to the office. I called on Lord Home in the late afternoon at the House of Lords, and took up with him some matters regarding the Congo, which I had been urgently instructed to do.

We dined with Sir Edward and Lady Ford. She is Bob Brand's daughter, and they are associated with the Palace. At 9:30, we went to Buckingham Palace for the Queen's reception.

We had a delightful dinner in their attractive house in Palace Yard. The Salisburys, Dowager Lady Bessborough, and other friends and acquaintances were there. By 9:30, we had joined our American group, composed of Embassy members to the number of about 100, in the State Dining Room at Buckingham Palace. On these occasions, the Queen goes from room to room, shaking hands with the

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

Francis McIntyre, having once more swung around his circuit, came to see me. He found sentiment on the continent strongly in favor of the UK joining the Common Market.

I went to call on the Polish Ambassador, Dr. Witold Rodzinski. He is the son of the American orchestra conductor, Rodzinski, was born in Poland in 1918, and from 1946 to 1948 worked with the United Nations Secretariat. From 1950 to 1956, he was with the Institute of Social Sciences of the central office of the Polish United Workers' Party. He was counsellor at the Embassy in Peking from 1956 to 1957, and director of the Afro-Asian department of the Foreign Ministry from 1958 to 1960.

Seldom have I had a more enjoyable conversation. Political affairs were never mentioned. He is a graduate of Columbia University, from which he received BA and MA degrees. While working for the last, he was supported under the GI Bill of Rights. He had wished to be an historian, and in fact, has written one book on Chinese history. He reads Chinese, and has done much research in the libraries of that country. Also, he has collected a quantity of Chinese art.

I lunched in the office with Robert Estabrook. He has been travelling intensively since his arrival on this side, and is off now to Prague. He is a keen observer.

Captain Oseth, Commander, US Naval Activities in the UK, came to see me, to present his successor, Captain Harold Fuller.

Joe Fromm, of U. S. News and World Report, called to interchange views. Later Tom Lambert of the Herald Tribune did the same.

I saw Consul General Brown, from Istanbul. His son is in Groton, in David's class. He has reports that the boys are getting along well, but are consternated by the amount of scholastic work required of them.

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

The new Nepalese Ambassador, Kali Prasad Upadhyaya, came to call on me. He is 54, and was Nepalese Attorney General from 1950 to 1956, and a Supreme Court Judge since 1960. He is soft spoken, courteous, and evidently a thoroughly trained jurist. One of his sons is on the UN staff in New York, having previously been a student at a California University.

Lewis Jones and myself went down to Buckingham Palace to sign the Queen's book, in connection with the recent diplomatic reception. Princess Margaret had a son today, so we stopped by and signed the book at Clarence House.

E has a streaming cold, and cannot go to Scotland. I left at 10:40 tonight on the train, to go up to Lord and Lady Home's place.

November 4, 1961 - Saturday

After a comfortable night, I left the train at Carstairs, and motored to Castlemains, near Douglas, Lanarkshire, the Home house. They had a large castle a few miles away, but it was torn down in 1937, after which they moved to the bailiff's residence, which they now use during the shooting season. It is [redacted] comfortable, with sleeping accommodations for about eighteen people. We were out on the moors at 9:15, and shot all day. There were seven guns--Lord Home, his 17-year old son, (David Dunglass), Sir John Amory, Lord Elphinstone, Anthony Ashland, General Scander Mirza (from Pakistan) and myself. This place is part of the extensive Douglas Angus estates. Its area is about 80,000 acres, and includes some fine forest land. It is one of the most beautiful stretches of country I have ever seen, well watered, with thousands of sheep and cattle wandering around. There were numerous varieties of game, and during the course of the day we shot grouse, pheasant, partridge, blackgame, ducks, geese, hares. I only saw one woodcock, but a few roe deer bounded about. The bag at the end of the day was about 175 pieces. I shot

UNCLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

[redacted] badly. Home is a splendid gun, and his son, who was on a short holiday from Eton, is almost equally good. We lunched in one of the cottages on the place, dined at home, and played bridge. In climbing a barbed wire fence, I got hooked on the top, and fell, tearing a gash in my leg, and dislocating a thumb.

November 5, 1961 - Sunday

Shooting is not allowed in Scotland on the Sabbath. The rest stayed at home, but General Mirza and myself motored over to lunch with the Duke and Duchess of Buccleuch at Drumlanrig. The house there was built about 1673, of a reddish native stone. It is huge, and beautiful, filled with the most interesting historical paintings, as well as many others of high quality, fine furniture, and a superb collection of miniatures by Holbein and other masters. Only the Buccleuchs and their librarian were there. I have never seen such a pleasing setting. There are extensive gardens, and one overlooks a fine salmon river. Buccleuch is the largest forester in Scotland, and his estates are said to be admirably managed. Although Drumlanrig is about forty miles by road from Castlemains, the borders of the properties are contiguous.

November 6, 1961 - Monday

We had another magnificent day in the open, but were reduced to five guns, Amory and Ashandhaving left. The weather was fair, slightly cold, and we killed in excess of 100 pieces, the majority of them grouse.

Buccleuch [redacted] showed us his game chart on Sunday. About 1850 they [redacted] made a record bag [redacted] more than 15,000 grouse. After an exceptional day, the Home of that day [redacted] sent a message to Buccleuch's grandfather, announcing that his guests had killed 1500 grouse. The reply was that on the same day at Drumlanrig, 2500 had been bagged.

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

I have never seen more hospitable and friendly people than the Homes. He is a man of exceptional charm and intelligence. We had long talks about Berlin and other matters of joint concern. I suppose he must sometimes wonder why he ever left his engaging interests in Scotland for the hurly-burly of politics in London. Life on these great Scottish estates is still almost feudal, in the sense of the attachments which owners, tenants, and employees have for their localities.

I was reluctant to take the night train to London.

November 7, 1961 - Tuesday

The Argentine Ambassador called on me this morning. He said he had been awake most of the night, thinking out schemes for a Common Market to embrace all Atlantic countries. He thought if the UK joined the European Common Market, the Argentine would lose much of its trade with Great Britain. I told him I shared his long range views about a free trade area, but thought it necessary to progress toward it step by step. The most important thing at present would be to have the UK admitted under the terms of the Rome Treaty.

I was briefed by a group sent over on Atomic Energy matters consisting of Phil Farley, from State, Dr. Haworth and Gerald Johnson from Atomic Energy. They want permission to add certain installations to those already established by the British on Christmas Island, in case it is decided to renew tests in the atmosphere. The ownership of Christmas Island has long been in dispute between the US and the UK. I was instructed to take this subject up with Lord Home at once, and try to secure HMG approval of our plans.

E and I lunched with Mrs. Ian Fleming, at 16 Victoria Square. Angus Wilson, the writer, Fitzroy McLean, Lord and Lady Lambton were there. We had a gay time.

Back in the office, I saw Robert Hansen, Commander in Chief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, who is doing a junket, much of his time devoted to visiting cemeteries

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

Later, Colgate Darden's daughter, [redacted]. Edward John Field, came to see me at my request. I had been asked by Senator Willis Robertson to talk to her and try to dissuade her from renouncing her US citizenship.

Miriam Camps came in. The Department is anxious to use her as a consultant, which creates certain administrative problems for us here.

Alec Home called me this morning to tell me that in connection with Christmas Island, it would be necessary for his Government to consult the Australian and New Zealand Governments, which would postpone a definite answer for some days.

I neglected to record that after sending my telegram to Dean Rusk, stating I did not wish to take the position in Washington, I received a speedy answer saying I should forget about the last paragraph, namely, being shifted from he

Harry and Cathy Morgan came to Regents Park for drinks. We dined with Sir Edward and Lady Spears. This was a pleasant occasion. Minister of Defence Harold Watkinson and his wife, former Ambassador to Vienna James Bowker and his wife, Sir Harold Nicolson, Oliver Chandos and his wife, were there, as well as a lovely Cuban lady. After dinner, the men, some of whom had at one time or another been in Parliament, educated me in the intricacies of British political life, exchanging many quips with each other.

November 9, 1961 - Thursday

I came to the office this morning. E was to leave on the 9:00 o'clock plane to Paris, but since the airport was fogged in, did not get off until much later. Pamela Berry and I were to take the 12:00 o'clock Air France, and finally left about 2:00 o'clock by BEA. Since French time is an hour later than the British, it was almost 6:00 o'clock when we arrived at the Crillon.

Tonight we dined with the Philippe de Rothschilds, Av. d'Iena. In some respects, it was the most amusing dinner I ever attended. The Couve

DECLASSIFIED

de Murvilles, the Wilfred Baumgartners, and Louis Joxe, were the other guests. Many people were flayed alive, as they commented on contemporary politicians and artists. Their gaiety is really immense. I find the French habit of the men and women remaining together after dinner a good one, since conversation is never interrupted. Couve had just returned from Brussels, where Heath made his presentation. He thought things had worked out thus far satisfactorily. Joxe was more optimistic than I had expected over the Algerian affair. I think he sincerely believes there will be an arrangement. The food, as is always the case in this house, was quite extraordinary. Aside from other wines, Philippe produced magnums of Chateau Mouton Rothschild 1921 and 1870. The 1870 is more full bodied than the delicate 1921, and although Philippe says it is variable, some of it will still last gloriously for years to come. Pam, who loves political talk, said she was completely dazzled by the display of fireworks. There were lots of funny stories, as well as poetic quotations.

November 10, 1961 - Friday

It rained cats and dogs all day. I went to the American Pro-Cathedral to attend the funeral of Bunny Carter. It was a sad occasion. He died of cancer, at the age of 68. He had lived in Paris for almost 40 years, and served during the first war in the French Army, and in the American Army in the second war. His grandfather was a law partner of my grandfather in Baltimore, and Bunny was a close friend of mine. He was one of the most generous, gentlemanly, amiable men I have ever known, with a high sense of duty, and a charming personality. Since he had for decades been one of the leading foreigners in Paris, the church was jammed, and the service conducted by Sturgis Riddle was beautiful and moving. Bunny replaced me in London in 1941 as head of the American Red Cross in Great Britain, and I saw him frequently when he was in General Patton's

DECLASSIFIED

Intelligence Unit in France and Germany.

I lunched with Jean Monnet at his apartment. He sees no obstacles that can not be overcome by negotiation to the UK's entry into the Common Market. We discussed these matters, as well as the attitude that should be taken on what the British may propose in regard to EFTA and the Commonwealth. Monnet is coming over here this weekend, and I expect to see him Monday.

E and I returned this afternoon, while Pam went on to Geneva to see her daughter. We dined tonight as guests of the US Marine Corps at the Cafe Royal. The Royal Marines supplied the martial music, and their Commandant, General Riches, who had an attractive wife, was the chief speaker. It was a beautiful occasion, and wonderfully well done. This represented the 186th anniversary of the founding of our Marine Corps. The British counterpart dates back to the time of James II. We took Peggy and Billy Hitchcock with us.

November 11, 1961 - Saturday

In the office this morning. I have a bad cold. Louise Stephaich and Billy and Peggy Hitchcock dined with us.

November 12, 1961 - Sunday

Never put foot out of doors today. Am deep in the blues with cold. We had some people for drinks, and afterwards the Hitchcock family, who had spent the day in Cambridge to see Tommy Sr.'s grave, dined with us.

November 13, 1961 - Monday

Mrs. Pannett, a skilled artist, did a sketch of me this morning. I had thought it was for the Illustrated London News, but it turned out to be destined for the Daily Telegraph.

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

General Rogers, whom I knew in Germany, now retired, and Chief of the Mutual Weapons Development Program, came to see me this morning with some of his associates. He was followed by Congressman Wickersham, of Oklahoma, a member of the Armed Services Committee. I was guest of honor at the Monday Luncheon Club at the Savoy Hotel. I did a 20-minute impromptu speech on the Common Market, the proposed UK entry, and American policy in this regard.

Hampton Barnes, Executive Director of the Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships, came in this afternoon to ask me to become a member of the Committee. This I was glad to do.

Mr. and Mrs. Dugald Malcolm gave a reception for Sir Guy and Lady Salisbury Jones at the Travellers Club, which I attended. Later, at the house, Dean Sturgis Riddle of the Pro-Cathedral in Paris, Betty Riddle, and Tupper Barrett, Peterson and Julian Allen of Morgan Guaranty Trust Company, came in for drinks.

I was to attend a dinner tonight given by George Weidenfeld for Senator Javits. E went, but I stayed at home to nurse my cold. She said it was a [redacted] amusing dinner; Javits was unable to come, but his wife was there.

During the afternoon Jean Monnet came to see me at the office. He had spent most of the day with Frank Lee, discussing Common Market problems in connection with the proposed UK entry. He thinks none of them are insuperable, but looking after the Commonwealth interests is the most difficult one. He is convinced that no permanent preferences should be accorded to Commonwealth countr

Since there is a strike at the London Airport, he is uncertain when he will get away. Monnet and his daughter Marianne had birthdays on the same date last week. Jean is 73, but does not look it. He hopes to retire at 80 and do some mountain climbing.

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

There is a good deal of apprehension here over the composition of the new German Government. Adenauer had to make important concessions to the FDP when Brentano resigned as Foreign Minister and was replaced by Schroder. The old gentleman is going to Washington on November 20; and we shall then have a better notion as to how far his personal policy has been compromised.

November 14, 1961 - Tuesday

The Libyan Ambassador made a return call on me this morning. He has become more and more buoyed up by the oil projects in his country. Actually ESSO already has its pipeline in operation, and there will be a large flow of revenues to the King of Libya as this affair progresses.

Mr. Zarine, the Latvian Minister, called on me. He has been here for 29 years, during about 16 of which he has in effect been without a country. However, through some curious arrangement, he still has a quasi diplomatic status, and his old government had sufficient deposits in London and in America to sustain the expenses of legations in those two countries and perhaps elsewhere. Under an emergency decree, he appears to have inherited whatever powers his former government possessed. He is Acting President, Acting Foreign Minister, and Minister to Great Britain. At 82, he is still spry.

Lewis Jones and I lunched today at Lloyds, the present chairman of which is George Ewart Thomson. About 25 members attended the lunch, which was held in a magnificent Adam room bought by them from Bowwood, the Lansdowne country place. Their building, erected in the 50's, is huge, and the operations that go on within it are fascinating. Lloyds is a unique institution in the informality of its lack of conventional corporate arrangements. We had a look at some of its multifarious activities.

DECLASSIFIED

SECRET

DECLASSIFIED

This afternoon the Nigerian High Commissioner made a return call on me, as did the Liberian Ambassador.

Bean, our Treasury Attache, gave me a thorough briefing on the present gold and balance of payments situation in the US. They are not satisfactory.

Tonight E and I dined with General and Mrs. Brown, who were entertaining Secretary of State for Air and Mrs. Amery. Other guests included Air Chief Marshal Sir Edmund and Lady Huddleston, Wing Commander and Mrs. Scott, General and Mrs. Ives, and Col. and Mrs. Solem. We had a delightful evening. Julian Amery is bright, good looking, and conversable. His wife, the daughter of the Prime Minister, has much charm. Air Chief Marshal Sir Edmund Huddleston is 53 years old. I knew him when he was with SHAPE, and both he and his wife are attractive, as are Wing Commander Scott and his wife. Our American contingent was excellent, and everyone seemed on the best of terms.

November 15, 1961 - Wednesday

Tom Finletter came to see me this afternoon. He expressed his views on the multilateral control of nuclear weapons in NATO. This is an interesting question, and poses many difficulties. The important thing always to be considered is to avoid any discrimination against the German armed forces, except insofar as one already existsby their unilateral renunciation of ABC activities. Red Dowling, who is leaving for Washington tomorrow morning in connection with the Chancellor's visit there, called on me. He feels that internationalization, preferably the establishment of UN headquarters in the whole of Berlin, presents the only real possibility of giving a new look to this affair. He and I have discussed this often before.

DECLASSIFIED

SECRET

Red reports that Ehrhardt has lost much ground in German political circles, because of having again knuckled under to the Chancellor. Although Ehrhardt remains the most popular single figure amongst the people of Germany, Dowling believes, unless the Chancellor were to resign or die within 12 months, he would not be chosen as a successor. He thinks Strauss and Schroder will become rivals when a vacancy takes place. Although Schroder has always been thoroughly loyal to the old man, he is ambitious, and will make what hay he can to advance himself.

Tonight I dined at Barclays Bank, 54 Lombard Street, as a guest of Mr. A. W. Tuke, the Chairman. Mr. Tuke is a fine fellow. At the age of 64, he is about to retire. There was something unusually pleasant in having dinner in this large and, except for us and the servants, deserted building. They have a magnificent collection of prints, 400 or 500 in number, depicting all sorts of activities connected with London. I should think it was quite unique in its completeness. The company was representative of business and financial interests, half a dozen of them being old friends. After dinner we settled down, and I was circulated about to talk to these agreeable men. Got to bed at midnight.

November 16, 1961 - Thursday

The Ambassador of Thailand paid me a return call. Afterwards, the Nicaraguan MinisterCounsellor, Jose Leon Sandino Morales, came to see me. He very evidently has a heavy strain of Indian blood, and is a second cousin of the notorious bandit leader, Augusto Sandino. He is to be here indefinitely as Charge d'Affaires, since the Nicaraguan Ambassador accredited to the UK resides in Paris, and does not intend to visit London, except to present his credentials. Sandino is said to be politically ambitious, and looks like a tough fellow, although exceedingly friendly in manner.

MR. A. W. TUKE'S DINNER TO THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR ON WEDNESDAY, THE 15TH NOVEMBER, 1961.

MR. R. S. W. CLARKE.	Chairman, Imperial Tobacco Company (of Great Britain & Ireland) Limited.
SIR CHARLES J. HAMBRO, K.B.E., M.C.	Chairman, Hambros Bank Limited. Director, Bank of England. Chairman, Union Corporation Limited.
THE RIGHT HON. VISCOUNT HARCOURT, K.C.M.G., O.B.E.	A Managing Director, Morgan Grenfell & Company Limited.
SIR JOSEPH LOCKWOOD.	Chairman, Electric & Musical Industries Limited.
SIR WILLIAM McFADZEAN.	Chairman, British Insulated Callender's Cables Limited. President of the Federation of British Industries 1959 and 1960.
SIR ROGER MAKINS, G.C.B., G.C.M.G.	Chairman, United Kingdom Atomic Energy Authority.
SIR GUY F. THOROLD, K.C.M.G.	Chairman, A. W. Bain & Sons Limited.

DIRECTORS OF BARCLAYS BANK LIMITED AND/OR BARCLAYS BANK D.C.O.:-

MR. J. THOMSON.	Deputy Chairman, Barclays Bank Limited. Also a Local Director, Oxford District.
SIR THOMAS BLAND.	A Vice-Chairman, Barclays Bank Limited. Also a Local Director, Ipswich District. Chairman, County Councils Association. Chairman, Olive Discount Company Limited. Chairman, Tollemache & Cobbold Breweries Limited.
MR. L. E. D. BEVAN, C.B.E.	A Vice-Chairman, Barclays Bank Limited. Also a Local Director, Lombard Street District. Chairman, National Provident Institution for Mutual Life Assurance.
MR. J. S. CROSSLEY.	Chairman, Barclays Bank D.C.O.
THE RIGHT HON. LORD CORNWALLIS, K.B.E., M.C.	A Local Director, Maidstone District. Chairman, Albert E. Reed & Company Limited.
THE RIGHT HON. VISCOUNT KNOLLYS, G.C.M.G., M.B.E., D.F.C.	Chairman, Vickers Limited. Chairman, Employers' Liability Assurance Corporation Limited.
MR. R. E. FLEMING, M.C.	A Managing Director, Robert Fleming & Company Limited.
MR. C. E. MEEK.	Advisory Representative in the United States.

CONFIDENTIAL

DECLASSIFIED

Robert Worley, a Representative in the State Legislature of Pennsylvania, came in to tell me he is a friend of President Eisenhower, but I think was especially interested in having his picture taken.

I lunched at the Foreign Airlines Association at the Dorchester Hotel, where the principal speeches were made by the Belgian Ambassador and by Peter Thorneycroft, Minister of Aviation. There were several hundred people, since all the airlines using English Airports were represented.

This evening I was a guest of the Chatham Dining Club at the Carlton Tower. I sat between Lord Brand, still lively in his 80's, and Gilbert Longden, MP from Hartfordshire, who presided. I have seldom enjoyed anything more. There were 100-odd people in the group. I talked for 40 minutes, mostly about Berlin and the Common Market, with a sideswipe at the rest of the world, and afterwards answered questions.

November 17, 1961 - Friday

I was thoroughly stricken today with a hellish cold, and never left the house.

November 18, 1961 - Saturday

Today was like yesterday, except for visits from Lewis Jones and Bill Clark.

November 19, 1961 - Sunday

Attended to office business with Jack Smith this morning, and spent the rest of the day reading and sneezing.

DECLASSIFIED

SECRET

DECLASSIFIED

November 20, 1961 - Monday

The Commercial Officers from Western European posts started today on their meeting in London, which will last a week. I attended the opening, and made some remarks to them. Under Secretary of Commerce Gudeman presided. Judging from his preliminary statement, I thought him [redacted] able. The new Ethiopian Ambassador called on me. He [redacted] served in Washington from 1947 to 1950, and has also been assigned to Jerusalem, and to the UN as permanent representative. He was Minister of Education when appointed to London. His English is fluent. He is having difficulty adjusting himself to the English climate.

Albert H. Ely called on me this afternoon, with Roland Wilson. I did not know it until they arrived, but both of them are associated with the Moral Rearmament movement, and are evangels on the subject. Judging from their remarks, MA is the greatest force in the world now combatting Communism. It is financing a Latin American tour of some of the Japanese youth members of the organization that made Jim Hagerty's life so miserable in Tokyo. These Japanese are now seeing the light, and are [redacted] sharing it with South Americans.

Lewis Jones and myself went to a reception given for me by the London Chamber of Commerce in their Council Room at 69 Canon Street. There were 100 or more members present, and they were all most cordial.

November 21, 1961 - Tuesday

The Bolivian Ambassador made a return call on me. It is always a pleasure to see him. I lunched today with the Guinea Club in the House of Commons Restaurant They are 21 in number, as the name implies, and each had a guest. I spoke for twenty minutes on the Common Market.

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

Clarence Streit came to see me this afternoon. He is a remarkable man. For years he has devoted himself to "Atlantic Union Now". During this time, he has poured out an almost incessant stream of books, periodicals, and pamphlets, besides interviewing people by the thousands. He wishes to push on actively in his cause, and is somewhat disappointed over the British reaction, which generally favors a step-by-step approach. I do not myself believe that much interest can be aroused here until the question as to whether or not Great Britain will join the Common Market has been resolved.

Tonight we had a reception for about 175 people at the house. This included the Western European Commercial Officers. Amongst others there was the great animal expert, Michaela Denis, and Lady Munnings (widow of the painter) with her singing dog, who she says gets two guineas a minute for chanting in church.

November 22, 1961 - Wednesday

The Ambassador of Ecuador paid me a return call. He says things are quiet now in his country, following the recent installation of a new Government.

I had a staff meeting this morning. Frazier Meade's father called on me this afternoon. He is engaged in the interesting work of writing a biography of the famous English Dr. Meade, who was one of the leading figures in the medical profession and a famous collector of paintings and books [redacted] in the 18th Century in England. Meade is an attractive man.

The new Ceylonese High Commissioner in London, R.S.S. Gunawardene, came to see me. His predecessor died a short time ago. He seems an interesting, cultivated man. He will serve additionally as Ambassador to France and Switzerland. Mr. Gunawardene is 62 years old, and was a member of the Ceylonese Parliament for twelve years. In 1952, he became Minister to Italy, in 1954 Ambassador to the United States, and in 1956 Permanent Representative to the United Nations. In 1957,

UNCLASSIFIED

SECRET
DECLASSIFIED

he was named High Commissioner to Canada. He was knighted in 1954, but renounced it in 1955, when the Ceylonese Government favored not accepting such honors.

Joe Alsop arrived today from Paris, to stay with us. We had a dinner tonight for Lord and Lady Salisbury, Prince and Princess Wittgenstein, Countess Kinsky, Mr. and Mrs. Quennell, Mr. Weidenfeld, Miss Ducane, and Mr. Alsop.

November 23, 1961 - Thursday - Thanksgiving Day

E and I went to King's Weigh House Church on Duke Street. A Thanksgiving Service was held there at 10:30, under the auspices of the U.S. Navy. I read the President's Proclamation. After church, I went to the office.

We had a lunch at home for the following people:

Mr. and Mrs. Harold Watkinson
Count and Countess Munster
Nancy, Lady Astor
Mr. Wells
General and Mrs. Ives
Mr. and Mrs. Beebe
Mr. and Mrs. Keenard
Mr. and Mrs. Wagner
The Hon. and Mrs. William Moorhead
Countess Potocka
Mr. Robert Coe

Tonight we attended the Thanksgiving Day dinner of the American Society. I presided, and Jim Currie, Chairman of the Society, introduced the Lord Privy Seal, Ted Heath, who made an excellent speech.

I proposed the toast "The Day We Celebrate", and discoursed for about ten minutes. There were over 600 people at the dinner. Preceding it, we stood in line with the Curries, and shook hands with most of them. Lots of turkey and pumpkin pie today!

CLASSIFIED

WASHINGTON, OCT. 29--President John F. Kennedy issued the following Thanksgiving Day, 1961, proclamation:

"It is a good thing to give thanks unto the Lord."

More than three centuries ago, the pilgrims, after a year of hardship and periol, humbly and reverently set aside a special day upon which to give thanks to God for their preservation and for the good harvest from the virgin soil upon which they had labored. Grave and unkrown dangers remained. Yet by their faith and by their toil they had survived the rigors of the harsh New England winter. Hence they paused in their labors to give thanks for the blessings that had been bestowed upon them by divine providence.

This year, as the harvest draws near its close and the year approaches its end, awesome perils again remain to be faced. Yet we have, as in the past, ample reason to be thankful for the abundance of our blessings. We are grateful for the blessings of faith and health and strength and for the imperishable spiritual gifts of love and hope. We give thanks, too, for our freedom as a nation; for the strength of our arms and the faith of our friends; for the beliefs and confidence we share; for our determination to stand firmly for what we believe to be right and to resist mightily what we believe to be base; and for the heritage of liberty bequeathed by our ancestors which we are privileged to preserve for our children and our children's children.

It is right that we should be grateful for the plenty amidst which we live; the productivity of our farms, the output of our factories, the skill of our artisans, and the ingenuity of our inventors. But in the midst of our thanksgiving, let us not be unmindful of the plight of those in many parts of the world to whom hunger is no stranger and the plight of those millions more who live without the blessings of liberty and freedom. With some we are able to share our material abundance through our Food-for-Peace Program and through our support of the United Nations Freedom-from-Hunger campaign. To all we can offer the sustenance of hope that we shall not fail in our unceasing efforts to make this a peaceful and prosperous world for all mankind.

Now, therefore, I, John f. Kennedy, President of the United States of America, in consonance with the joint resolution of Congress approved December 26, 1941, which designates the fourth Thursday in November of each year as Thanksgiving day, do hereby proclaim Thursday, the twenty-third day of November of this year, as a day of national thanksgiving.

I urge all citizens to make this thanksgiving not merely a holiday from their labors, but rather a day of contemplation. I ask the head of each family to recount to his children the story of the first New England thanksgiving, thus to impress upon future generations the heritage of this nation born in toil, in danger, in purpose, and in the conviction that right and justice and freedom can through man's efforts persevere and come to fruition with the blessing of God.

Let us observe this day with reverence and with prayer that will rekindle in us the will and show us the way not only to preserve our blessings, but also to extend them to the four corners of the earth. Let us by our example, as well as by our material aid, assist all peoples of all nations who are striving to achieve a better life in freedom.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States of America to be affixed.

DECLASSIFIED

beaters or around the flanks, where they unfortunately did not get much shooting. The whole thing was beautifully arranged, with high birds and a sufficient supply. The day was sunny, and not too cold to discomfort one. We had a picnic lunch in a farm house, and stayed out until about 4:30, at which time it was dark. We killed something over 240 pheasants, three woodcock, and 16 hares. I have never had a pleasanter day, or better shooting companions. Lord Hylton is an admirable host, and supervised all the arrangements, including the placement of the guns. The Englishmen were without exception fine shots. We dined and spent the night at the Chancellors. John showed us copies of his new magazine "Knowledge", which has had a remarkable success. In less than a year, and without advertisements, it has achieved a circulation of almost 250,000 copies a week. Stephen Runciman came to dine, and spent the night. As always, he was most entertaining. He is a man with an extraordinary breadth of knowledge.

November 26, 1961 - Sunday

We came back by train, and arrived home at lunchtime. This afternoon, the O'Shaughnessys, with their children, and the William Clark children, together with Mr. Brown and his boy, had high tea with us.

Tonight for dinner we had Prince Constantine and Princess Hella of Bavaria, Prince and Princess Radziwill, Lady Lambton, and Mr. Joseph Alsop. Hella and her husband are staying at the German Embassy. He is still writing his political column for a Munich paper, and she is preparing for an exhibition of her sculpture in London next spring.

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

November 27, 1961 Monday

Bob Schaetzel came in this morning, with Walt Butterworth, and we [redacted] talked about preparations for submission to Congress next year of the new Trade Act.

Jean Monnet called me from Paris. He [redacted] saw George Ball in Geneva yesterday, and is worried about the proposed legislation and its possible effect on the entry of the UK into the Common Market.

Jean Lambert flew over from Paris to see me. He is going to New York this afternoon, [redacted] is full of ideas about reorganizing his profitable banking business.

De Myers brought Marian Anderson in to see me. She had a tremendous success here with her concerts. It is the first time I have seen her off the stage. She is attractive, and has beautiful teeth.

I lunched at the office. Ricardo Sicre came to see me this afternoon. He is a remarkable fellow, and has made a fortune in business in Madrid. He now has four boys at the Rosay School. In spite of his business interests, he devotes a good deal of time to art collections, and is writing another book.

I went to the Heinemann party for Matila Ghyka. They have just translated his memoirs from French into English. He has quite a bit to say in his book about Staunton Hill. Then I went to a party given by the American Press correspondents from 6:00 to 8:00 at the Connaught Hotel.

This was E's birthday, but we had no chance to celebrate it. She took Mosie this morning to the veterinary to be operated upon. He has a serious hernia.

Red Dowling came to see me on his way through to Bonn, and told me what [redacted] happened during the Adenauer trip to Washington. He thought the Germans had been forthcoming, and had made important concessions to the American point of view.

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

We also discussed the Congo. I lunched with Siegmund Warburg, his partner, Grierson, and Gladwyne, at the S. G. Warburg private bank in the city. Siegmund is a cousin of Eric, as well as of the New York Warburgs, and has an active and prosperous business here. I fancy he was German by birth. He has always been a proponent of the UK joining the Common Market. I enjoyed our conversation, especially since Warburg is so interested in philosophy and literature.

Bob Schaetzel filled me in this afternoon on his long talks with Frank Lee and others regarding the Common Market. The British application will meet with many obstacles, especially in respect to how to deal with imports from the Commonwealth countries.

Arthur Veysey, of the Chicago Tribune, came to see me. He was particularly interested in (1) the Common Market and (2) the Berlin situation.

Walt Butterworth has been here for some days in connection with the Schaetzel visit, and I had a talk with him regarding Common Market matters as seen from Brussels.

Joe Alsop is battling with influenza. Nancy Lancaster is also staying with us.

November 29, 1961 - Wednesday

Morrill Cody, European head of USIA, came to see me this morning. Then Dr. Jawdat Mufti, Charge d'Affaires of the Syrian Arab Republic, called on me. The Syrian Mission has become independent. He had been at the UN for some years, and seems intelligent.

I had a staff meeting, and afterwards lunched at the Standard Bank of South Africa, in the city. Edmund Hall-Patch, an old friend, is chairman, and was the host.

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

Rudolf Hahn, a brother-in-law of Eric Warburg, came to see me this afternoon, with Admiral Buzzard, a former head of British Naval Intelligence. Hahn is, I should judge, in his 70's. He was headmaster of a German school called Salem, but has been in the UK for many years. Here, he founded Gordonstour School, but is now retired. It seems he is intent upon the formation of some sort of Atlantic University in England. However, he did not come to see me on scholastic matters, but to submit a paper entitled "Pipe-Dream or Reality?" He spends about half the year in Germany, and said it is his belief that the proposal made in this paper would be acceptable to the West German Government.

In brief, he would like the Allies to suggest (1) the recognition of the East German State, after a national constituent assembly had been chosen by secret ballot in elections under neutral supervision; (2) East Berlin and West Berlin would be combined and become the capital of the new German State; (3) reunification would be indefinitely postponed. He made a long explanation of the reasons for believing this might be an acceptable solution. I told him I would submit it to the Department. There are many features in this paper which seem to me unrealistic, and I question Hahn's judgment, entirely aside from other considerations, of the probable reaction of the West German Government and of the West Berliners to his proposition.

November 30, 1961 - Thursday

It was blowing a gale when I got up this morning, and rain was pouring down. I saw Bob Schaetzel at the office, and had another [redacted] of our long daily talks about his conversations with British officials regarding the Common Market. This is a tangled affair, and one cannot at this point confidently predict whether or not the UK will be admitted to it.

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

William Eagleton, Jr., a son-in-law of Welles Bosworth, came to see me. He was Consul in Tabriz, and expected to be assigned to this Embassy. However, something has happened about the arrangements, and he is shortly going home to learn his fate, leaving his wife and five children in England. I was favorably impressed by him. He is said to be an excellent linguist, having a knowledge of Persian, Arabic, French, Italian, and Spanish. He told me Welles is now 92 years old, and still goes into Paris almost every day.

Mr. John G. Copelin, Vice President of International Telephone and Telegraph Company, called to see me.

I lunched at Bucks with E. Eric Dudley and his new wife, formerly married to Stash Radziwill, were there. He has asked me twice to shoot, but I have never been able to arrange it.

Before dinner, I went to see Audrey Pleydell-Bouverie at 48 Berkeley Square. She has been ill again, first with mumps, and then with another heart attack. She still has her house at Andros Island in the Bahamas. It has been rented for three years to Axel Wenner-Gren, the great Swedish industrialist, who lately died. Since only one year of the lease has run, it will probably now revert to Audrey, who intends to sell it.

Joe Alsop dined with us tonight, the first time we have been alone with him. He is leaving tomorrow for Washington. He had a tremendous row with George Brown of the Labour Party the night before last, and has been making the rounds of Cabinet Ministers. He knows a great many people in London, and has made his own arrangements, but is none too popular in Government circles, because of his numerous attacks in the past on British "softness" in the Berlin affair.

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

SECRET-NOFORN

MEMORANDUM

Questions on US views about UK military policy

1. UK military effort

a) Should total effort be increased?

1. Should manpower be found by conscription/selective service?

2. Should more money be found? By taxation? Military exports? Direct or indirect US support? German support?

3. What are "right" priorities between

(a) Re-equipment and expansion of Army

(b) Establishment of a (conventional) strategic reserve (in UK? - Germany? - abroad?) with adequate sealift and airlift.

(c) A major seaborne combined force. Indian Ocean? Elsewhere?

(d) Strategic, tactical, transport and ASW air effort.

(e) Worldwide bases (for UK? - UK-US? - SEATO/NATO?)

(f) Forces or components potentially useful to the UN. (Airlift, sealift, communications, military police, etc.)

4. Do we a) need, b) welcome, c) have no objection to or d) dislike an "independent British strategic nuclear force"?

5. Do we wish British to undertake definite commitments or tasks in any specific geographical area? With US? In NATO/SEATO role? Alone?

6. Do we want British to assume prime responsibility for any definable research and development area or projects? Alone? With NATO countries? With US?

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

7. Do we want British armed forces in general to be "well rounded" and capable of independent action or to be complementary to US/NATO forces in design?

2. British-German relations

a) Should the British support the buildup of German armed forces? Provide (relatively secure) sea and air operating bases? Supply materiel? Same, even if competitive with American manufacture?

b) Should German Navy be requested (with British assent) to contribute to the anti-submarine defense of the Atlantic lifeline?

c) Do we desire closer working military relationships between Britain and Germany? To improve NATO effectiveness? To spike British belief US is turning to Germany as "the" major ally instead of Britain?

3. NATO

a) Do we want British military industry to integrate into NATO? For example, should we press NATO "ATLANTIC" aircraft in place of Coastal Commands' (obsolete) Shackletons?

b) What is our policy on "Europe in space?" Do we encourage it as contributing to the scientific/technical strength of NATO or discourage it on grounds of wasteful duplication of American effort?

c) What is US policy in respect to "NATO nuclear forces?" Should we urge them on British? As complementary to or in place of British forces?

4. General

a) What is our general attitude toward British military strength? Should we try to enhance it 1) in all circumstances? 2) only when non-competitive with American? or NATO?

b) Apart from security problems, are there any areas where a definable conflict of national interests suggests it is undesirable to support British military capabilities?

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

We have our first full report on American visitors to the Embassy. It covers the period from July 1 to September 30. It is not complete, but steps have been taken to make statistics in this regard more accurate.

Courtesies and Services Rendered by Embassy to American Visitors Not Resident in London
July 1, 1961 to September 30, 1961

A. Categories of Visitors	Number
Official	369
Congressional (includes members of congressional parties who are not Congressmen)	41
Other*	162
Total	572

*36 of this group had received Congressional letters of introduction

B. Types of Courtesies and Services Rendered	Number
1. Met upon arrival	68
2. Hotel reservations made	288
3. Local transportation provided	83
4. Appointments with Ambassador	38
5. Briefed by Ambassador	4
6. Meetings with other Embassy officers	108
7. Lunch or dinner at Ambassador's residence	93
8. Reception or cocktails at Ambassador's residence	95
9. Entertainment by other Embassy officers	61
10. Arrangements made for schedules, itinerary, onward travel or public relations	301

DECLASSIFIED

SECRET

DECLASSIFIED

11. Appointments made with official or non-official British persons	105
12. Secretarial service provided	33
13. Accompanied to departure point	43

C. Notes

1. Routine non-resident American visitors to the Commercial Section have not been included in the statistics. During July-September 1961, there were roughly 240 such visitors.

2. Routine non-resident American visitors to the Consular Division have not been included in the statistics. During July-September 1961, there were roughly 9,200 such visitors.

3. The statistics represent a conservative estimate of the number of non-resident American visitors to the Embassy and the number of courtesies and services rendered to such visitors. In addition to the exclusions noted above (No. 1 and 2) it should be noted (1) that wives, children and friends, accompanying principals, have not been counted, (2) that action officers probably have not submitted a full report on every visitor for whom they were responsible. In this regard, it is expected that statistics for succeeding quarters will be more accurate as action officers become more accustomed to the reporting procedure.

As of November 22, 1961, the personnel occupying the new Embassy building are as indicated in the following report:

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

BREAKDOWN OF AGENCIES OCCUPYING EMBASSY BUILDING IN LONDON

November 22, 1961

STATE	1954 Americans	1954 Locals	1961 Americans	1961 Locals
Office of the Chief of Mission	11	1	9	1
Administrative Division (of these 33 Americans are paid by State; the balance are paid for by other agencies which are supported).	71	148	60	166
Political Division	36	3	36	6
Economic Division (includes Commercial Section)	29	14	20	15
Consular Division	20	56	21	56
TOTAL STATE.....	167	222	146	244
OTHER AGENCIES				
USIS	17	68	14	55
Foreign Agricultural Service	5	2	5	5
Atomic Energy Commission	4	-	4	-
Treasury Attache	6	-	4	-
Internal Revenue Service	-	-	3	-
Legal Attache	4	-	6	-
Customs	5	1	2	1
ICA	24	31	2	2
FAA	-	-	5	1
Maritime Attache	-	-	1	1

cont'd.....

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

OTHER AGENCIES (cont'd)	1961 Americans	1961 Locals	1961 Americans	1961 Locals
FBIS	17	29	2	1
FOL/L	60(?)	1	60	1
Service Attaches:				
Army	19	11	5	-
Navy	39	7	18	1
Air Force	41	12	57	23
TOTAL OTHERS.....	242	169	188	91
GRAND TOTAL.....	409	391	334	335
TOTAL OCCUPYING EMBASSY BUILDING.....				669

ADM:CLO:lv
Nov. 24, 1961

UNCLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

SECRET

December 2, 1961 - Saturday

Beautiful clear day. Worked, and attended to personal correspondence, including charitable dispositions.

December 3, 1961 - Sunday

Pelting rain all day.

December 4, 1961 - Monday

George Soloveytchik came to see me this morning. We talked mostly about Berlin. I lunched with the Morgan Grenfell partners in the city, and again, the talk was of Berlin.

I called on the Yugoslav Ambassador this afternoon. Mr. Srđja Prica, a veteran member of the Yugoslav Communist party, joined the diplomatic service in 1947. For four years, he was Yugoslav Ambassador to Paris, and was appointed Foreign Under Secretary in 1955. He [redacted] spent the war years in exile in the United States. He lived in New York and Pittsburgh, and engaged in free lance journalism. He has an attractive personality, and I found him [redacted] interesting about deviationism, the reasons for de-Stalinization, and the animus felt by undeveloped China for the fast developing Soviet Union.

Tonight we dined with Lord and Lady Knollys at 2 Belgrave Square. The other guests were Lord and Lady Drogheda, and Sir Leslie and Lady Rowan. Rowan is one of Knollys' (Vickers) directors, and was formerly with the Treasury. The Cromers were to come, but he is ill.

DECLASSIFIED

SECRET
DECLASSIFIED

December 5, 1961 - Tuesday

I presided over the meeting this morning of the Fulbright Commission. The British and American members take this work seriously, and are diligent and attentive in resolving the many bureaucratic problems involved.

I lunched with John Loudon at the Shell offices in the city. The other guest was William Wood Prince, President of Union Stockyard and Transit Company, of Chicago. Our hosts were J. H. Loudon, J. P. Berkin, L. E. J. Brouwer, and D. H. Barran, Managing Directors of the Royal Dutch/Shell Group, and Lord Southborough, Managing Director, Shell Transport & Trading Co., Ltd., J. W. Platt, Director, Shell Transport & Trading Co. Ltd., E. C. Peet, Group Finance Director, M. E. Spaght, President, Shell Oil Co., V. F. Grafstrom, Vice President, Canadian Shell Ltd., and A. S. C. Hulton, President, Asiatic Petroleum Corporation, New York. The Shell representatives are all of Dutch, American, Canadian, or English nationality. They are an engaging lot. I have never seen such a profusion of food as there was on the buffets. There were hot dishes, but in addition there was smoked salmon, smoked trout, smoked ham, cold lobster, cold grouse, pheasant and partridge, and other delicacies. John Loudon is related to the Hitchcocks, and for several generations his family has been active in the Dutch Shell group.

The Sudanese Ambassador, Amin Ahmad Husayn (Hussein), called on me this afternoon. He is about 49, and a Moslem. He was Commissioner of Police in 1954, and later served as Chief of the Criminal Investigation Department. In September 1957 he transferred to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as Deputy Permanent Under Secretary, with the personal rank of Ambassador. He has only been in London a month. I found him poised and intelligent.

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

Ken Keating, U. S. Senator from New York, came to see me. He is interested in COCOM matters, and disturbed over the decision made here to supply Vickers Viscount aircraft to the Communist Chinese Government.

William Wood Prince, whom I [redacted] met at lunch, called on me this afternoon. He was adopted by old Freddie Prince, and there has always been a rumor he was an illegitimate son. At any rate, when Prince died in his 90's, he left control of that part of his huge fortune that remained after inheritance taxes to this individual. I thought him entertaining and shrewd. He has made a deal with the Shell people to export methane gas from the Sahara to England, the last transportation stage to be by tankers. I have always been impressed by the way in which he has taken hold of Armour & Company, and has expanded its activities into many fields that the original meat packers would have detested.

I dined tonight as a guest of the Eleven Club at the Dorchester Hotel. Sir Allen Clark, its Chairman, presided. Nine of the eleven members were there, and they had about twenty guests, Directors or Chairmen of important British industrial companies. I spoke at some length on international affairs. Afterwards, there was a question period, and we did not leave until after midnight.

December 6, 1961 - Wednesday

Hugh Scott, U. S. Senator from Pennsylvania, whom I [redacted] first knew when we were together at the University of Virginia, came to see me this morning.

Afterwards, the new High Commissioner for Sierra Leone, Dr. William Henry Fitzjohn, called. He was born in Sierra Leone in 1915, and educated at an evangelical church school. He attended Lincoln University in the United States, and later Columbia University, from which he holds degrees as a Bachelor of Divinity and Doctor of Education. In 1959, he was sent to Washington as his

DECLASSIFIED

SECRET
DECLASSIFIED

country's representative and upon independence in April, 1961, he became Charge d'Affaires. His predecessor here as High Commissioner has gone to Washington as Ambassador, and Fitzjohn replaced him here. He was involved in what at the time was a great incident at Hagesstown, Maryland where he was refused service because of being a Negro. A handsome apology was made, and a banquet given by the Mayor in his honor. He seems to cherish no resentment about the affair and is humorous on the subject.

Pauline and Phillipe Rothschild arrived yesterday, to stay with us. I saw them for the first time at lunch today. They are about the most stimulating couple I know.

E and I [redacted] arranged long ago to spend the evening and night at Cambridge University, as guests of Provost and Mrs. Annan, of King's College. I had to give up this trip, chiefly because of the p.d situation in Katanga, where conditions have deteriorated to a dangerous point I was asked to go this afternoon to see Ted Heath at the House of Commons.

Heath wanted to talk to me principally about the situation that may develop on Saturday, December 9th, at airports where our Air Force units are stationed. Lord Russell's Committee of One Hundred has been circularizing large numbers of Britishers, in an effort to induce them to join columns amounting in all to about 50,000 people, for one of their non-violent passive resistance demonstrations. Apparently their idea is to sit down on the airports, or otherwise as close to them as possible, as a sign of solidarity in favor of neutrality. Heath thought the Royal Air Force had things well in hand, and gave me a paper on the subject.

He had just emerged from a tumultous House of Commons debate on such topics as the Congo and Immigration.

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

SECRET

Ex-Governor Furcolo of Massachusetts called on me, with his father in tow. The latter is a sturdy looking fellow. He was born near Naples, left his birth place at the age of ten, and emigrated to Boston. He is now on his way back to Naples, which he has never visited since his early departure.

This evening Sally and Scotty Reston, the Drew Middletons, Senator Hugh Scott and his wife, and Hope and Frank Canfield, of ESSO, came for drinks.

I sat up until 1:30 tonight, drafting a telegram on British attitudes toward the Congo crisis.

December 7, 1961 - Thursday

Having abandoned the Cambridge trip, I had more or less of a free morning, a good portion of which was spent with Scotty Reston.

Joe Fromm, of U. S. News and World Report, Tom Lambert and Dick Wald, of the Herald Tribune, lunched with me. We took a conversational run around the world together.

Congressmen Robert H. Michel of Illinois, and Silvio O. Conte, of Massachusetts, shepherded by Bob Anderson, our Agricultural Attache, came to see me. They had lately been in the Congo, Ethiopia, and elsewhere in Africa. Their stories were amusing, and I thought their observations perceptive.

My old friend and associate, Tom Blaisdell, of the University of California, called on me. He is on a sabbatical year. His wife, Katherine, and himself are interesting themselves chiefly in matters relating to the Common Market and American Trade Policy.

Tap Bennett, Deputy to Ellis Briggs in Athens, came to see me. I had a letter from Ellis last week, but was delighted to hear from Bennett what Briggs had not mentioned, namely that he was again well enough to go shooting.

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

SECRET

Apparently Harry Labouisse will replace him as Ambassador to Greece, and Ellis will realize his life-time ambition to be Ambassador to Spain. I am pleased at the prospects of these two appointments, for both men, as well as their wives, will be admirable representatives of the United States abroad.

We had a dinner tonight for the Prime Minister. I had some discussion with him about the meeting he is to have with President Kennedy in Bermuda later in the month. He seemed in excellent spirits and health, but left soon after dinner to preside over a Cabinet meeting called to consider conditions in the Congo, as well as other matters, I assume, that have lately proved so bothersome to his Party. The guests at the dinner were:

The Portuguese Ambassador and Mme. Rocheta
Viscount and Viscountess Monckton (Chairman, Midland Bank)
Lord and Lady Ismay (former Chief of Staff to Churchill)
The Lady Alexandra Metcalfe
Sir Malcolm Sargent (Famous conductor)
Mr. Anthony and Lady Violet Powell (Literary Figure)
Baron & Baroness de Rothschild
Marchesa Cassis (Italian)
Mr. and Mrs. Hamish Hamilton (Publisher)
Mr. and Mrs. Osbert Lancaster (writer and cartoonist)
The American Minister and Mrs. Lewis Jones
Mr Alfred Wells

I sent the following telegram about the Congo to the Secretary:

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

December 9, 1961 - Friday

General Ives came to see me this morning. I told him about my conversation with Heath about the Committee of One Hundred. He agreed on the importance of the US Air Force personnel not using weapons or force against the demonstrators unless they threatened to overrun the most restricted areas.

I lunched at the office. Secretary Hodges, of Commerce, came to see me this afternoon. He is leaving for Africa tonight. He said my brother, Jim, was giving him a great deal of help in connection with international problems.

Derek Hoyer Millar sent for me to express the concern of the British Government over our failure to reach an agreement on Holy Loch, where our Navy is using British facilities. Secretary of Defence Watkinson is to raise this with Secretary McNamara next Monday. I sent a message for McNamara on this subject.

Lt. Huger Sinkler, a cousin of Ben Kittredges, came to see me, with a friend from Charleston. They have a day's leave from their ship in London. He is a fine looking young man, and related interesting Charleston gossip.

I was due to have left this afternoon to shoot with Lord Rootes this weekend, but gave it up in consequence of a telegram fromDean Rusk, asking me to meet him and Lord Home in Paris.

December 10, 1961 - Saturday

I left for Paris this morning on the Golden Arrow, fearing that weather conditions might make travel by airplane uncertain. We have had a lot of fog here recently. It was a comfortable nine-hour trip. The channel was smooth. Mac Toon met me at the station, and we went directly to the Crillon, to see Foy Kohler. He was buried under a mountain of working papers and preoccupations, but was in fine spirits. I went to dine with Cecil Lyon. We had an enjoyable time together until I went off to spend the night at the Travellers Club.

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

December 13, 1961 - Wednesday

I left at 8:15 this morning for Hatfield to shoot. We were six guns, Frank Wisner and his son, Frank, myself, Robert Cranborne, a young man whose name I never heard, Rex Benson, and Bobbety. It rained hard in the morning and was dull in the afternoon. We killed 200 odd pheasants and some hares. It was a delightful day on this magnificent property, which is said to extend to about 10,000 acres, 20 miles from London. The beaters were inmates of the local insane asylum. They performed, under supervision, extremely well, though once I was informed who they were I thought their cries more vigorous than those of more ordinary beaters. Betty gave us a delicious lunch and tea, and I returned with the Wisners to London in time for dinner. Fortunately, my shooting seems to have improved, and I was not dissatisfied with the day's work.

We had planned a dinner tonight for RAB Butler, but he was feverish, and so he and his wife did not come. We had as guests:

Duchess of Bedford
Dowager Duchess of Devonshire
Lady Diana Cooper
Mr. Mortimer
Madame Arias (wife of Panamanian Ambassador)
Lord and Lady Carrington
Earl and Countess of Drogheda
Mr. Michael and Lady Anne Tree
Mr. Frank and Lady Katherine Giles
Sir Norman and Lady Brook
Sir Roger and Lady Makins
Mr. and Mrs. W. J. Keswick
Mr. and Mrs. Frank Wisner
Mr. Galbraith
Mr. Lampson
Mr. Wells

DECLASSIFIED

SECRET

DECLASSIFIED

December 14, 1961 - Thursday

Reggie Winn came to see me this morning, just to pass the time of day. I lunched with the Commonwealth Correspondents Association at the Waldorf Hotel. Afterwards, I entertained them, or failed to do so, with a rather extensive speech. Everything was off the record, and so I was subjected to close interrogation on such subjects as the recognition of China, but above all, the Congo.

I used [redacted] little of it as background, but had the following notes on the British Commonwealth.

The full report on Commonwealth Relations, mostly prepared by the staff here, I think is one of the best produced in this Embassy. It is a subject we have discussed at great length, and I think our dispatch represented an unusual consensus of impartial opinion.

I went directly from the lunch to the House of Commons to hear the debate on the Congo. Ted Heath led off. Then Harold Wilson attacked him from the Labour [redacted] side. The Prime Minister and Gaitskell were due to conclude this evening. I imagine there will be an electric atmosphere in the Commons after dinner. Party passions are running high, and the U.S. will bear the brunt of most of the criticism from the Tory side.

We dined tonight at the d'Erlangers, 44 Upper Grosvenor Street. The Salisburys, the Duke of Devonshire, the Duchess of Buccleuch, and Mollie Cranborne's sister were there. Everything was [redacted] congenial. I thought Mrs. Wyndham [redacted] went charming. She [redacted] last year on a trip across Africa, to Abyssinia, in a Land Rover, and is going out again this spring on another long journey to Lake Tchad.

DECLASSIFIED

Notes on the British Commonwealth for Parliamentary Corps - Ottawa, Dec. 14, 1961

The UK position as a major world power rests heavily on its retaining, as head of the Commonwealth, political influence in countries containing a quarter of the world's population.

UK commercial and financial activity has likewise rested heavily on its sizeable and relatively stable Commonwealth trade and investment.

Militarily the UK still retains valuable assets based on Commonwealth cooperation which enable it to discharge military responsibilities on a world scale. Among these assets is the call by Commonwealth countries on British military manufactures which helps the UK maintain an important production for defense.

Commonwealth political ties are loosening as the Commonwealth adds to its membership the newer nations of Africa and Asia.

Commonwealth trade is not growing at a rate sufficient to insure a level of UK economic strength equal to the demands on UK earnings.

Political developments in Africa and in Southeast Asia are likely to reduce facilities available to the UK and consequently to reduce UK ability to meet some of its military responsibilities.

It is the UK Government purpose to go into the Common Market on conditions that will preserve and with results that will eventually strengthen the Commonwealth.

We think it important not only to the UK, but to the U.S. and the rest of the free world that the UK preserve and strengthen the Commonwealth, an association uniquely successful in associating Afro-Asian countries with the west in a way which contributes to peace and stability. We recommend that ways be found to encourage the UK to persist in finding a way to do this.

This is a particularly appropriate time to reassess the Commonwealth. The recent withdrawal of South Africa was a milestone marking the trend of the Commonwealth in the direction of a multi-racial and looser, as opposed to the once white-dominated tighter association. The UK Government's decision to negotiate entry into the European Economic Community and the Government's apparent determination that these negotiations shall not fail, promise to provide another even more significant landmark in the history of the Commonwealth.

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

The Commonwealth is a great source of stability and strength both to Western Europe and to the world as a whole, and I am sure that its value is fully appreciated by the member Governments of the European Economic Community. I do not think that Britain's contribution to the Commonwealth will be reduced if Europe unites. On the contrary, I think that its value will be enhanced.

Of such a character are the sterling bloc relationship, the series of trade preferences and the Colombo Plan. A weakening of the ties of trade and finance would necessarily have a psychological effect on the strength of the Commonwealth but need not toally disrupt the basic political relationship.

Although official statements tend to de-emphasize the role of the UK, the British undoubtedly cherish the Commonwealth as a vestige of former imperial glory.

There are in a way three groups of members in the Commonwealth: the Old Dominions, the states of the Indian subcontinent and Far East, and the new states of Africa. Ties of British kinship, history and monarchy are especially close with Canada, Australia and New Zealand. In the former colonial territories of South Asia and the Far East, the ties with Britain were considerably longer and the preparation for independence deeper and more extensive than in the newer states which have been affected by world pressures towards swift independence. As a consequence, the ties with Britain and the mystique of the Commonwealth are deepest in Canada, Australia and New Zealand and deeper in India, Pakistan and Malaya than in the newer states of Ghana and Cyprus. It is also probably true that the British expect less and tolerate more extreme expressions in the newer states.

The Prime Ministers' meetings are unscheduled and somewhat irregular but are an established forum supplemented by frequent and intimate exchange of personal communications between them. There are numerous other important forums, such as the Finance Ministers' meetings, established in practice. There are numerous organizations and societies, some of them, such as the Commonwealth Communications Board, with established powers.

The Commonwealth has no constitution and few multi-lateral treaties. In the constitutional sense it rests on numerous understandings, decisions and conventions. Among the "understandings" mentioned in the discussion of how the Commonwealth works above is the obligation to consult prior to taking an action affecting another Commonwealth member's interest.

Commonwealth activity rests on consultation , on the exchange of High Commissioners and on preferential treatment for Commonwealth citizens.

The Commonwealth representatives in the United Nations meet, under the chairmanship of the UK, in a regular exchange of views and information.

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

According to one authority, (India's Madam PANDIT) well over half the population of the Commonwealth speak English either as their first or second language.

Closely related to language is education. Many Commonwealth leaders had their education in the UK or in schools at home established by Englishmen. Some 36,000 students from various parts of the Commonwealth are studying in England at the present time.

There is no derogation of sovereignty in Commonwealth membership. This feature, unique even in international associations, is perhaps the single greatest factor of cohesion and British political genius deserves much credit for it.

In the UN for example, through the Commonwealth group, the UK learns a good deal about what is happening among the Afro-Asians. The UK has a channel of influence through the Afro-Asian members of the Commonwealth on others from these parts of the world.

This Embassy has always felt that Commonwealth considerations weigh heavily on UK decisions elsewhere in the world. Thus in the Far East, for example in Laos, Indian views impinge on and color UK policies; whereas in matters like the UK-Icelandic fishing dispute, Commonwealth views would not count very heavily.

The Indians have probably been less rigid on Laos and are more anxious to cooperate in Vietnam than they would have been were it not for the Commonwealth. There have probably been other issues where similar influence has been beneficial to the West.

The first and fundamental point to keep in mind is that Britain is now, as in the past, a food and raw material deficit country whose supplies of these commodities have been and will continue to be drawn largely from overseas, non-European sources.

XXX Sent Post (Cancel)

The third point is that trade with the Commonwealth, though only a part of Britain's trade with the world, is a very large part, accounting even now for roughly 40 per cent of both imports and exports.

The fourth important point is that broadly speaking the Commonwealth countries have been developed economically, and the output of their agricultural, mineral and other industries made possible, by private investments of British capital. These investments, accumulated over the years, still exist and account for more than half of total British foreign investments; Commonwealth countries even in recent years continued to receive approximately half or more of all new increments of British private

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

overseas investment. (In 1958 and 1959 "sterling area" countries plus Canada received 74 per cent and 69 per cent respectively of all new British overseas investment. They likewise accounted for similar proportions of all British earnings on foreign investments, exclusive of oil and insurance.)

Some details of UK-Commonwealth trade will provide evidence of the degree of present UK dependence on Commonwealth sources of supply and Commonwealth markets. In 1959 trade with the Commonwealth accounted for 42 per cent of Britain's total exports and 41 per cent of her total imports. Imports from the Commonwealth accounted for 47 per cent of food, beverage and tobacco imports, 46 per cent of basic materials imports, 42 per cent of mineral fuel and lubricant imports, and 28 per cent of manufactured goods imports. In the same year exports to the Commonwealth accounted for 45 per cent of all manufactured goods exports (which comprise about 85 per cent of all exports).

Thus the continuation of the present close economic relations between Britain and the Commonwealth countries depends primarily on the maintenance of large UK markets for Commonwealth goods, and on the ability of the UK to supply a substantial increment of new capital on a regular basis for Commonwealth development. It is at these two points that current and prospective changes in the economic position of the UK and its overseas Commonwealth partners will affect present economic ties.

In recent years the sterling claims of the "rest of sterling area" member countries against the central reserves, have usually amounted to about twice the total size of the reserves. About one-third of this consists of holdings of British colonial, as distinguished from Commonwealth countries.

One final point should be made about the sterling area currency arrangements. This is the fact that, being largely voluntary, as they are, on the part of Britain's Commonwealth partners, they can probably be regarded as almost inextricably involved in and dependent on the continued existence of the large volume of trade between the UK and the Commonwealth. It is likely that the larger part of the sterling area balances in London consists in reality of "working balances" held there to finance the trade and economic relations with Britain and other sterling area members; and should this trade (in every case almost overwhelmingly with the UK) diminish significantly or disappear, the balances themselves may be withdrawn or run down sharply. This of course would probably mean a break-up of the sterling area. To the extent that Commonwealth countries are indebted to Britain on past obligations, an incentive to keep reserves in London would remain and might offset somewhat the tendencies towards a break-up.

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

In recent years this has become more and more difficult for the UK, which is confronted not only with urgent requirements for higher domestic investments to increase its rate of economic growth and the permanent burden of maintaining large military forces in Europe, but also with the fact of diminishing Commonwealth contributions to the sterling central reserves resulting from the increasing efforts of Commonwealth countries for their own development.

The detailed study of the problem was published last year by the Economist Intelligence Unit, under the title The Commonwealth and Europem and has been referred to above. Its analysis of 1956 trade data indicates that in that year 42 per cent of total Commonwealth exports were sent to Europe, and if Canada is excluded because of the concentration of its trade with the United States, the proportion rises to 52 per cent. Of the total exports to Europe, 64 per cent went to the United Kingdom. By category, the UK took 80 per cent of Commonwealth exports of temperate zone foodstuffs to Europe, 70 per cent of Commonwealth exports to Europe of tropical foodstuffs and products (including tobacco and oilseeds and vegetable oils), 52 per cent of Commonwealth exports to Europe of raw materials, and 78 per cent of Commonwealth exports of manufactures to Europe.

(There has long been a substantil body of opinion in the UK holding that the country can no longer afford any foreign investment.)

To some extent this implies an assumption that a new triangular pattern of trade will develop, with UK earnings in Europe becoming available to finance trade with and investment in the Commonwealth, and in some respects it implies concessions by the EEC to Commonwealth trade.

Since sterling area balances in recent years have normally amounted to about twice ~~the of~~ UK gold and convertible currency reserves, the consequences of such an event would be serious.

The British retain advantages and influence in the military field in many low-key areas of activity which are attributable to Commonwealth ties. Commonwealth officers ~~attend the~~ → at N.C.D.C. British military schools. Commonwealth officers attend the Imperial Defense College. British military advisors work with the military establishments of most, particularly the newer, Commonwealth countries. British officers still serve and play an important role in the forces of the African Commonwealth states. ~~General Alexander is probably more influential than any British civilian in Ghana, for example.~~

DECLASSIFIED

SECRET

The tie with South Africa has been broken and future relations with the UK are to be on a bi-lateral, still-to-be-negotiated basis. Elsewhere in Africa it is doubtful if Britain will be able to maintain for long any ~~meaningful~~ military bases. Canada is involved in NATO with the UK but is more intimately associated with the United States in defense. There is reason to doubt that India would associate itself with UK military action anywhere outside India. [British officials doubt that a greater Malay Federation would provide the facilities they now enjoy by right in Singapore but it is generally assumed that relationships with Tunku Abdul Rahman would in case of need, at least under extreme circumstances, permit the British to meet their requirements for defense in the Southeast Asian area. The British are currently studying the problem of meeting their SEATO and other requirements should they lose present facilities in Singapore in the event of a merger.]

The "inner circle" would probably still go to the defense of the UK if it were at war. Here ties of kinship, history, the Crown and other mystical but nonetheless strong factors would operate.

Such a relationship, however imprecise in terms and commitment, is of considerable military as well as political importance not only to the UK but to the West as a whole.

Ceylon, Ghana and Cyprus are not regarded as valuable assets to the Commonwealth at present.

But we would guess that in the short run closer British association with Europe in the Common Market would have a discouraging effect on a closer and more unified Commonwealth relationship.

Consultation between the U.S. and the UK is closer than that between the UK and the more privileged members of the Commonwealth. In this process the U.S. has access to much if not most of what Commonwealth consultation produces for the UK, Canada and Australia, with subtle differences in each case.

The Commonwealth is not a myth. It is an international association of considerable importance to the free world. It is peculiarly British in conception and practice and therefore difficult to understand for those not brought up in British traditions.

Members of the Commonwealth are fully sovereign and pursue their own individual policies based on national interest. There is no supra-national authority and no attempt to dictate.

The Commonwealth provides the largest and the most stable market for UK goods. The UK depends on the Commonwealth for a major portion of its food and raw material supplies. The worldwide trading system, with its auxiliaries a worldwide communications and transport network and banking relationship are the foundations of British commercial and investment activity. UK trade with the

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

Commonwealth rests partly but not primarily on preferential tariffs. These preferences are, in fact, eroding and are progressively of lesser importance.

Lord Home has told the House of Lords that the UK must earn an additional 500 million pounds a year to meet its obligations to the Commonwealth.

One need only speculate what an India in the image of Communist China would mean to place in some perspective the value of the Commonwealth tie and British influence with that country.

We suspect there are some among British leaders who, without saying so, are selling the Commonwealth short and placing their bets on the UK in Europe.

Clearly it is in U.S. and free world interest that the UK succeed in preserving their Commonwealth influence. But in our opinion there is some danger that unless there is encouragement from others, especially from the United States, to the UK and to Europe to preserve this peculiarly British Commonwealth institution, UK initiative in this field could well weaken and even founder, at considerable loss to ourselves and to the rest of the free world.

DECLASSIFIED

SECRET

DECLASSIFIED

When the Finnish Ambassador came to see me the other day, he told me he had recently spent three months in bed as a result of a displaced disk in his back, caused by a single sneeze.

The Duchess of Bedford, a lively French woman, was talking at our dinner about the habits of her father-in-law, who as a matter of fact, died before her marriage. He was famous for his luxurious style of living. His principal country place was at Woburn, now run by his son and daughter-in-law as a tourist attraction. Half of the huge house has been demolished, much of the land sold, the animals in the zoo largely dispersed, but there is still the famous deer herd, as well as other wild animals, and a wonderful collection of art objects to be seen there. A great deal of the land had to be disposed of to meet death duties, and the present Duke, who appears to be a talented showman, is trying to convince his Trustees he can make a go of the establishment. Woburn is 40 miles from London. Her father-in-law, even after automobiles came into vogue, still maintained a house half-way between his country place and London, staffed with thirteen servants, where he stopped on his journeys back and forth, to change from his country clothes to city attire. He thought it unbecoming to ride in the same car with his baggage, and was therefore followed by another automobile carrying it and his valet. Returning from London, the same performance took place in reverse.

There are innumerable stories current about his eccentricity. Perhaps he was a bore in his family circle, for there is a malicious story that his wife, a famous aviatrix, took up flying after the age of seventy, so she could escape from conversation with him. She finally disappeared during a long flight to some remote spot.

DECLASSIFIED

December 15, 1961 Friday DECLASSIFIED

There was a dense fog this morning in Regents Park. It was only by the full use of headlights we could make our way to the somewhat clearer atmosphere of the center of the city.

Peter Webb of Newsweek came to see me. Afterwards, we had a staff meeting. I wrote a telegram about the proceedings yesterday in the House of Commons over the Congo situation, which resulted in a vote of confidence for the Government:

"Prime Minister last night quelled the revolt in the Conservative Party. As one of our political staff who attended the session put it: 'He was at his unflappable best.'

The withdrawal of the UN request for British bombs was of great assistance to him, as well as SYG announcement of the despatch of Bunche and Gardiner to Leopoldville.

Nevertheless, although there were only eleven abstentions, the Tories are still disquieted over events in Katanga, and their hopes hang on agreement between Adoula and Tshombe, before military activities cause further inflammation of popular feeling. Strong sentiment for an immediate cease-fire persists in the Commons.

I attended the opening of the debate yesterday afternoon. The atmosphere was tense; every seat in the chamber and galleries was occupied. Winston Churchill was present; he slouched for two hours in a semi-somnolent state before departing to seek, no doubt, refreshment more invigorating than tea. He returned later to listen attentively to Gaitskell and Macmillan. A few members, oblivious of the dissonance of debate, slept peacefully through the proceedings.

There were frequent interruptions as the Lord Privy Seal, Heath, for the Government, and Harold Wilson, Shadow Cabinet Foreign Minister, presented their cases. The politeness supposedly characteristic of our own Congressional proceedings, found no counterpart here. The Speaker preserved order, though cries of "Shame", "Nonsense", "Suez", "Sit Down", and "Treason" must have sorely tried his sense of decorum.

In spite of Labour attacks on Tory obstructionism of UN purposes I sensed a queasy reluctance to sanction UN military attacks on such installations as hospitals and private dwellings, as well as the use of shells and rockets against civilians. "Bomb" in England is a dirty word; almost all unite against its military use, except in a grave emergency. On this point, Tory orators rang the changes. Afterwards, a Labour representative observed to me that the British detested bad shooting, and thought there was little excuse for confounding Katanganese gendarmes with missionaries, nuns, pregnant women, and children. He added that the Tory position on a cease-fire would be even more appealing to the public had dogs and cats been victimized.

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

In the course of debate, strange charges were made by Tory backbenchers. One, piqued by criticism of his Party's subservience to the Katanga lobby, retorted that lobbying was an American custom, of which the British parliament was innocent. He went on to explain that American copper interests, dejected over surplus stocks, had determined US policy in the Congo, with a view to bringing suspension of copper production there.

It should not be assumed that the Conservative Party will hereafter have a free hand to do as it likes about the Congo. Governmental decisions will be jealously scrutinized by members embittered against the UN and the US. Nor, generally speaking, do either Conservatives, Liberals or Labourites have faith in the ability of UN Forces to impose a definitive military solution, in a situation where whites and blacks alike seem to be rapidly becoming nationalist guerrillas."

Mr. Jacques Adoue, an attorney of Houston, Texas, with a letter of introduction from Vice President Johnson, came to call.

Afterwards, Monty Piggott and the other Inspectors, who have now completed their work, talked to me about it. It sounds as if they would make a flattering report on our operations.

I went with Francis L. Berkeley, Jr., of the Virginia Historial Society, to Messrs. Agnew & Company, to inspect a copy of the portrait of Gov. Botetourt. It was a satisfactory replica. **Nancy Astor and others were there.**

From 6:00 to 7:30, we had a Christmas party for members of the Embassy, together with their children over ten. There were about 350 of our associates and their progeny on hand.

December 16, 1961 - Saturday

Last night's thick fog had, despite gloomy predictions to the contrary, been dissipated before dawn. I took the 11:00 a.m. Pan American jet and, after a routine trip, landed at Idlewild in a little over seven hours. I had a two-hour wait before catching a plane to Washington. Miss Schukraft was out, the house empty, but I was delighted to be in it again. I forged about for food and drink, and went to bed at what would have been 4:00 a.m. in London.

December 17, 1961 - Sunday

DECLASSIFIED

A long, lazy day with a good deal of telephoning and work on my personal accour

SECRET

DECLASSIFIED

December 18, 1961 - Monday.

Reported at the State Department this morning, read telegrams and the bulky briefing book for Bermuda. Lunched with Bill Tyler at the 1925 F Street Club, conferred with associates all afternoon, and had a delightful dinner with Kay and Phil Graham.

December 19, 1961 - Tuesday

It rained yesterday, but today the weather was good, crisp and cold. I talked to Roger Jones about administrative problems, especially regarding the Contractor Pauling's case against our Government over the Embassy building in Grosvenor Square.

Lunched at the Metropolitan Club with retired Ambassadors Orme Wilson, Jack Hickerson, Harold Tittman, and Hugh Cumming. All averred they are more fully occupied now than when they were in active service.

Colonel Dyer, who will report as our new Military Attache at London in February, called on me. He is personable, and seems to have an attractive personality.

Whenever I am in Washington one or more security officers demand references from me on Departmental employees. This time Ned Nordness was under investigation for an appointment. I spoke highly of him.

E and Nicky arrived in the late afternoon from London, which they had quitted almost 30 hours previously. Unable to land at Idlewild because of fog, they came down first at Boston. Trying for Washington, they were diverted to Richmond, then to Raleigh, North Carolina. It sounded like a harrowing experience, but they were in good spirits. Mosie had a second severe operation in London, but is recovering well.

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

December 20, 1961 - Wednesday

Left this afternoon on one of the Presidential jets for Palm Beach. We had intended to go directly to Bermuda, but the President's father had a stroke and lies speechless in a Florida hospital.

It took us two hours to reach Palm Beach. Dean Rusk, Chip Bohlen and I were quartered in the superbly located house of hospitable Mrs. Robert Young, widow of the railroad magnate who killed himself a couple of years ago. Previously they lost their only child in an airplane accident. She is a sister of Georgia O'Keefe.

We met the President about seven, in the house he has borrowed or rented, belonging to a Mr. Paul. It is near the Young's, spacious, and has a few beautiful decorative things, notably a Gothic tapestry.

Mrs. Kennedy (Jackie) brought little Caroline in to speak to us. She is an adorable child. Later, our delegation, consisting of Rusk, Bohlen, Glenn Seaborg of Atomic Energy, Donald Brown of Defense, Bill Tyler, Mac Bundy, General Clifton (the President's military aide), Pierre Salinger, and myself, dined with the Kennedys.

After dinner, we had a two-hour briefing session. The President is extraordinarily well informed, and dislikes generalities and loose statements. He seizes quickly on the core of an argument. He is very attractive, with charming manners. Although obviously worried over his father's condition, he attended to our business with close attention.

December 21, 1961 - Thursday

I got up at 7:30, and in my enormous top-floor bedroom, overlooking the ocean, had a marvellous breakfast, including papaya, brought by the butler who was [illegible] with Winthrop Aldrich at Winfield House...

DECLASSIFIED

We left for Bermuda about ten o'clock with the President on his jet. Upon

DECLASSIFIED

arrival, he was met by the Governor General, Sir Julian Gascoigne. There was a band, a large honour guard, and a dozen local dignitaries, dressed in tail coats and gray top hats, to be reviewed.

Sir Julian was for some years head of the British Military Mission in Washington. Afterwards, he succeeded John Marriott in the coveted post of Commander of the London garrison. He is an affable, delightful character, ably seconded by his wife. About six foot five, he was dressed in a crimson uniform, with a broad white sash and much gold braid. A cocked hat, surmounted by tall white plumes, made him appear resplendent and gigantic. A sword depended from his waist; a monocle was fixed in his eye. Thick moustachios, slightly curling, slashed across his port red face.

We were set down at the Bermudian hotel, and lunched there as guests of Alec Home. The members of the British delegation were present, most of them having arrived the previous day. Their delegation consists of Prime Minister Macmillan, Lord Home, Sir William Penney (Atomic Energy), Sir Evelyn Shuckburgh, Sir David Ormsby-Gore, John Russell, Sir Norman Brook, Philip de Zulueta, and Ian Samuel.

We had an afternoon session at Government House, a large fortress-like structure with sweeping ocean views. The President and the PM are staying there.

Tonight, we dined at Government House--noteworthy lobster, really langouste.

December 22, 1961 - Friday

Temperature about 60°. The joint meetings were resumed at 9:30. The chief subjects dealt with yesterday and today were (1) nuclear testing and the possible use of Christmas Island, (2) Berlin and German problems, (3), the Congo and the UN Many other topics, including the Common Market, came in for incidental attention.

NARA

SECRET

DECLASSIFIED

December 24, 1961 - Sunday

Sasha and I started for the 8 a.m. train, and waited two hours before it got into motion. Good old Jamie Hamlette, who has been at Staunton Hill for 63 years, met us at Lynchburg. What a joy it was to rejoin the family at this place, where all is serene.

December 25, 1961 - Monday

A champagne, turkey, Christmas lunch. Perfect weather, sun by day, moon and stars at night, temperature 40° at noon. Long poker sessions with the children, and extensive walks. I carried a shotgun, but saw nothing shootable.

December 26, 1961 - Tuesday

E left for Washington today, to go to a dance and return tomorrow. The rest of us walked and played poker.

December 27, 1961 - Wednesday

E flew back in time for lunch, having enjoyed seeing friends. Walking, eating, poker. Wonderful weather. We beat the bushes and the fields, but put up no quail. We lack birddogs.

December 28, 1961 - Thursday

Anywhere else this life might be monotonous, but not here, where all of us are so happy and occupied. We read a lot, play cards, take long walks, write Christmas thank you notes, and jabber at each other. I passed on to the children today two stories told in Germany by John Russell about Ernest Bevin, when he was British Foreign Secretary.

He was called upon by the Ambassador from Guatemala, whose Government wanted Great Britain to give up British Honduras. Bevin, irritated, asked: "Where

DECLASSIFIED

SECRET UNCLASSIFIED

did you say you came from?" "Guatemala" was the answer. "Never 'eard of it," retorted Bevin.

The other story was about a proposal to Bevin, advocating the virtues of the UK joining some European integration scheme. "I don't like that Pandora's box," said Bevin; "if you open it a lot of Trojan horses are likely to tumble out."

It had snowed lightly last night, and this morning, but out came the sun at noon, and glorious weather is again with us. Temperature at 4 p. m. about 34°.

December 29, 1961 - Friday

18° at 8 a. m. this morning. Sunny weather. Many walks and talks, superintending children's Latin lessons, reading aloud to them Poe's Pit and the Pendulum (especially appealing to Nicky's macabre taste) and from Virginia Is a State of Mind, Nicky, a passionate Confederate, spends hours roaming the woods, lying behind logs, firing on imaginary Yankees.

We are stuffed with Southern food; turkey, fried chicken, kidney stew and waffles, brunswick stew, chicken livers, yams with marshmallows, turnip greens, brown betty with hard sauce, whiskey impregnated, bananas broiled in molasses, gingerbread, corn sticks, corn pone, and other scrumptious fare.

I hope Dean Rusk and his cohorts are taking some vacation. Dean is a remarkable fellow, one of eleven Georgian children, only two of whom could afford a college education.

December 30, 1961 - Saturday

Temperature again 18° at 8 a. m. The days pass swiftly; basketball and croquet have been added to the children's sports. I finished Fouquet - almost my favorite French character - by Paul Morand. What a stinker Louis XIV was. We have been reading aloud a biography of Henry VIII of England. Loathsome

UNCLASSIFIED

creature, I've just digested a long essay on Peter the Great, another despicable, though remarkable, individual. Am now re-reading parts of Plato; what a contrast to the deviltry of those monarchs.

December 31, 1961 - Sunday

Sunny as usual, temperature unaltered. Went to see Pete Carter, Audrey's manager, and his wife, this morning. We talked farming and forestry. Then I called on the Senior Carters, fine types.

After church, we read aloud Dickens' A Christmas Carol. I took Nicky to the cellar this afternoon, and gave him a marble mantelpiece I [redacted] bought in Richmond in the thirties. It was supposed to have belonged to his hero, General Robert E. Lee. One of the caryatids has lost a foot, but this did not diminish Nicky's enthusiasm.

The children invented tableaux for this evening, with imagination and skill. The best were the surrender of Lee to Grant at Appamattox, and Tom Sawyer with Huckleberry Finn. E and I presented them with a charade, "Nicotine".

We sat down to dinner in high spirits. Poker followed until short of midnight. We celebrated the New Year in eggnogg, spiced with Sherbrook rye whiskey.